DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 137 666 CG 011 251

AUTHOR Schultz, LeRoy G.
TITLE The Control of Campus Rape: An Overview of Individual Tactics and Environmental Design.
PUB DATE 76
NOTE 19p.; Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association (84th, Washington, D.C., September 3-7, 1976) Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *College Environment; *Court Litigation; Crime; *Females; *Laws; Models; *Rape; Social Attitudes; Social Psychology

ABSTRACT

Campus rape, and awareness of it, is increasing. However, the lack of victims who are willing to "come out" makes for difficulty in gathering data that can influence policy-makers and resource distributors. Two major types of campus rape are discussed, each calling for different approaches to prevention. Important aspects of each type of rape are discussed. New victim programs and services are mentioned from 14 communities. Rape law reform and litigation are viewed as hopeful routes to some problem control. Recent court cases are cited. Fourteen suggestions for the control of campus violent rape are made. (Author)

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The Control of Campus Rape:

An Overview of Individual Tactics and Environmental Design

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We are meeting at what may be looked back on as a turning point in campus history. Appearances indicate that student, faculty and alumni support for law enforcement is re-emerging as a basic need on campuses. Political demonstrations on campus are out and campus crime is in. As the academic community became more socialized and merged with the outside community, its facilites became available to all, with a crime increase on campus by non-students. This is particularly a problem for the campus within the large urban area. Thus, security forces on campus who were evicted at the height of the student revolutions of the early 1970's now find students pleading for their return.[1] These trends are based on a changing climate of public attitudes. The temper of the population at all times determines what will or will not be done, which ideas and ideals are honored and which are scorned, and which will be effective and which are frustrated.

The past few years have been a trying time for those of us who believe that the innocent citizen has a greater claim on the rights of a free society than the victimizer has.[2] There are now signs of an opportunity for restoring respect and demand for enforcing the law, and respect for the integrity of women and other victims. This shift in attitudes must be capitalized upon by all of us concerned with the rape problem, to make plans to steer a new course toward desired goals. Let's then begin to look at the problem before us today.

Campus Rape Incidence

Rape incidence is the dark figure in crime statistics. There are numerous defensable reasons for victims of rape not to share the experience at large. The data is soft, but without incidence figures, policy makers and resource distributors on campus and elsewhere are hard put to justify the costs of rape prevention and treatment.

There is a fundamental need to create reasonable incentives for victims to report rapes to university authorities so that these total figures can be conveyed to the Board of Regents and from there to the funding committees of the legislature who need to know the volume of crime on all the state's campuses. The non-reporting of crime on its premises by universities may have had some noble purpose in 1970 that is no longer relevant. In that year the Pennsylvania legislature attempted to pass the requirement that all campuses report all crime on its premises to a central state agency. Forty-two universities pooled their political power and defeated the proposal.[3] Perhaps today this same political "clout" can be harnessed to acquire new resource allocations for crime prevention on campus.

A survey of 20 university police departments on predominantly large campuses revealed a total of 76 rapes reported in 1974, and the Uniform Crime Reports of 1973 reported 100 rapes on 66 campuses.[4] The Haas study on one campus community indicated 332 victims in 1976.[5] Dukiet reported 8,952 estimated "sex crimes" for all campuses in 1972.[6] Shipman, in a sample of 261 college females in 1968, indicated 3.4% had been raped; 31% experienced sexual violence short of rape and 3.7% of college males interviewed admitted to being rapists.[7] Sorenson, in his 1972 research on 1000 adolescents, indicated 6% of the females were raped as their first sex experience.[8] Two studies on college female hitchhiking revealed: at the University of Wisconsin 7% were raped, and 26% experienced aggressive sexual approaches[9], and at the University of California at Berkeley, some 23% were raped.[10] Schultz and DeSavage reported 26% of a sample of 55 college students reported being raped or experiencing an attempted rape from 1 to 6 times in the last 3 years.[11]

Thus we are beginning to at least acquire some loose soft indicators of the rape incidence on campuses. But the imperitive to document a strong case based on evidence remains.

Individualized Approaches to Primary and Secondary Prevention

The term 'primary prevention' refers to acts a potential victim may take to prevent being raped; the term "secondary prevention' refers to acts a victim may take to prevent recidivism. Perhaps "reducing the chances" may be a more accurate phrase, since total prevention does not appear realistically possible. Part of the problem with prevention is that we know so little about rape. Many questions still need to be answered through research. Is rape a sexual act, a violent act, or a political act? What effect would knowing the answer have upon the tactics of successful resitence? Would knowing a typology of rape styles help? Do successful resistence tactics depend upon whether the offense is a group rape, rape by a stranger or a slight acquaintance, or a lover or husband? Or is it related to the location of rape: street, public building, or private home? What effect does use of a weapon make? What is "resistance" or "consent"?[12] Instead of focusing on the victim, would more payoff result from concentration on the ptential rapist? Will society let us intervene before the rape occurs? It appears reasonable to assume that forcible rape by a stranger on a dark street will require a different protective strategy than rape by a man a woman has dated three times and is engaging in petting with.

Most of what we know of effective resistence is so limited, so generalized or specialized, as to be of little value in teaching individual resistance. I don't mean to discredit the efforts of researchers or feminists here, but to honestly evaluate their budding efforts in terms of present utility. Statements from well-meaning feminists that all women are trained to be rape victims[13], that every woman is a rape victim[14] or that all men are latent "closet" rapists are shot-gun statements of overkill that lessens our credibility among the very people we need as allies. This is not to infer that I believe in no-fault rape. By

claiming the whole past culture was designed to produce men who rape women instills a "no win" state of apathy, besides it is paranoid and has conspiracy or gynocentric weaknesses.

Selkin's study[15] revealed that successful rape resisters were characterized by higher degrees of dominance, sociability, social presence and communality than rape victims. Victims were characterized by higher degrees of fright, being startled, panicked and frozen. He concludes that victim reactions predispose towards feeling, not action. These are findings that do not lend themselves to concrete preventive programs in the here and now. Javarek found that two characteristics help prevent victimization: the victim cried out and the victim ran away; and two characteristics do not: victim tried to talk to assailant or she used drugs/alcohol preceeding the act.[16] Such reactions which resulted in non-rape may be spontaneous "gut" reactions, that are natural for any frightening situation for many women. Some suggested techniques of prevention are too complex for many men and women in an emotional state to follow through upon, or conflict with the findings of other researchers.[17] The net effect of all these conflicting recommendations, if listened to, is to paralyze with indecision. Likewise, such statements by the victim as "I'm having my monthly"; "I just had a baby"; "I've got V.D." either are non-stoppers to determined rapists or they are so well known as standard responses that they have no effect. Unless the preventive reaction is well structured and part of the women's behavioral norms, she is not likely to use them under emotional stress. Note that these techniques are suggested for the one-to-one stranger-type rape only. Perhaps all one can reasonably suggest is the obvious precautions one should take to prevent many types of crime.

Regrettably, some college students do not even take these precautions. At the University of Iowa[18] in 1973, a brutal rape-murder of a student occurred in

the college dorm. Students had been tested on their feelings regarding campus security two weeks before the rape-murder and again two weeks after. Before the rape-murder, 94% of the female students did not believe a violent crime could occur on campus. After the rape-murder, 90% of the females continued to believe that a violent crime could not happen to them. Only 8% of the female student population locked their dorm-door while studying (4 hours) following the rape-murder. These findings, while disappointing, inform us of the work ahead, and just how fundamental a level we will have to start at.

The prevention of "date" rape may pose more problems than the violent-stranger type. Date rape according to Storeska, occurs in 35% of the cases [19]; according to Schultz, in 73% of the cases [20]; according to Haas, in 39% of the cases [21]; and by Kanin in 25.5% of the cases.[22] Both the situations in which dates are arranged and the style of communication in the dating game may account for these figures. Bars for singles or marrieds [23], rock concerts, school dances[24], house parties and mixers and sorority/fraternity parties have their own set of communication styles and purposes.[25] Sexual honesty pushed to bluntness, surroundings making communication difficult, sexual aggressitivity and competition, male peer-group pressure, and exploited loneliness are part of the game. My small study [26], completed in 1973, indicated that sexual aggression by males against their dates occurred where the love-making proceeded to the male's placing his hands or mouth upon the female's vagina, the assumption by the male being that she knows the effect of this strong stimulation on the male. Most of the sample males believed it was the female's duty to set limits on the degree of sexual intimacy she will tolerate. Compounding the problem further is the method of establishing a relationship: the male using sexual intimacy to form a relationship and the female claiming that sex can only occur after the relationship is formed. Some women are sexually satisfied by touching or light clitoral contact, and do

not wish to go on to more involved erotic activity. Female passivity in love-making, or elsewhere, is still programmed into young girls and women. Males find their role as one of overcoming such passivity, since society has programmed them as initiators.

Obviously then, we have the imperitive need of a sound sex education program at the beginning of adolescence: for men to decondition compulsive masculinity, where sex and aggression are co-mingled, and for girls and women to learn assertiveness. Some rape is an illegitimate extension of technique used by men to deal with female resistence to sex. Assertive training as part of college for females would help them learn to express their own sexuality when and how they want. Sexual liberation can also help in making more sex available, reducing the need to use force to gain a scarce commodity. Sexual equality across the board may reduce the need for male ego trips and "degradation ceremony". All women have been warned by Judge Edward Greenfield of New York City in 1975, when an alleged rapist was acquitted of raping a Wellsley co-ed. The Judge stated that intimidation and psychological coercion were legal and convential male bahavior toward women. The Judge added, ". . .it is not illegal to feed a girl a line, to continue the attempt not to take no for a final answer. . .it is not criminal conduct for a male to. . .indulge in exaggeration and hyperbole."[27] This defines a rather harsh environment for females and if we can't change it, we must build defensive techniques. Education for survival in such a world means starting very early, before college, in the socialization of both sexes. Time will not wait. In 1973, sponsorship of girl scout troops in Philadelphia was threatened with loss because, among other things, it offered training in rape prevention [28], while between 1960 - 1970 there was a 10% increase in rape by boys under the age of 15 years.[29] Date rape prevention on campus may be unlikely as long as society waits until college to do something about it.

Direct Services to Victims and Potential Victims

The rape prevention and treatment movement chose direct service to victims as its main thrust. Almost avery urban community and university has rape crisis centers. Services of a rehabilitative nature are offered all rape victims, including medical assistance, counseling, emergency transportation and supportive assistance through the justice system if the victim choses to report the offense to police and prosecute her assailant. Standard services include trauma reduction methods if trauma is present, the treatment of sexual dysfunction for both married partners, self-defense tactics, self-image improvement, unlearning helplessness, relearning reasonable control over social space and general crisis intervention methods. Many of the rape crisis centers I surveyed in 1974 listed as one of their main problems that rape victims did not use such services but where and when they are used they are accepted and institutionalized.

A word of caution regarding the rhetoric of "crisis". Since most sex assault victims do not ask for help from social welfare or counseling agencies, medical centers or law enforcement agencies, all research to date on rape victims has evolved from small biased samples. These samples are limited to victims willing to report to established institutions providing help, or to submit to research projects. They are misleading in terms of total understanding, even though they are all we have to guide us at this time. The ethics of research demand great caution in generalizing from such small and biased samples. Advice giving has moved far ahead of informed intelligence.

How much rape trauma is presumed to occur from overgeneralizing from crisis theory? Many of the rash of books and articles dealing with presumed rape-induced trauma inform us on what victims ought to feel and how they should react. The abundance of literature, talk shows on television and radio, and conferences of

this sort, may unwittingly contribute both to a broad panic [30] as well as victim's willing to live up to the presumed trauma level others tell her she has a right to feel or experience. The possible occurrence of sociatrogenic or iatrogenic dysfunction challenges the notion that doing something is always better than doing nothing.[31] There is a general tendency to overestimate the evidence of both emotional and physical trauma.[32] Some introductory research indicates that trauma rather than resulting in a long-term debilitation is quickly resolved, by the victim's cognitive processes alone, and converted into a personality-enhancing experience, an example of primary prevention.[33] Indeed, we may be underrating the capacity of the human character to respond positively, plastically, to "crisis". An obsession with presumed trauma might become the arbitrator of reality, and destroy our credibility.

Programs for Rapists

Rapists suffer a crisis also.[34] There are some treatment programs that indicate success in reducing recidivism. These programs aim at humanizing the sexual drive, teaching emotional release through physical contact with therapists, androgen depleting hormone treatment [35], the use of the sexual furlough, conjugal visiting, using video tapes between rape victims and rapists, more female workers in prisons, the sexually integrated prison [36] and the special prison for homosexual life styles.[37] One of the heretofore neglected rape victims has been the male, who may suffer the same trauma as a female rape victim.[38]

Governmental Programs for Crime Victims Which May Apply to Rape Victims

Experimental programs [39] aimed at assisting general crime victims should be looked at for the special utility for campus rape victims. They are now operative in 14 large communities. Some 13 states have crime compensation policies covering injuries and financial losses of various types. Restitution to the victim or direct

services to the victim by the offenders is being tried in Minneapolis. Brooklyn has a Witness Ombudsman offering advocate services to victims regarding any need they may experience. This program also has a radio-dispatched pool of trucks to to to each victim's house to repair doors, windows, locks, etc., immediately following a crime, returning a feeling of safety to the victim. Another program dispatches volunteers to the scene of the crime, calming the victim and offering instant service referral. Yet another program offers service in the area of unemployment problems resulting from the offense, negotiation with landlords and creditors, housing relocation, etc., to ease the plight of the victim. Witness Courtesy Centers have been established to provide private comfortable waiting rooms for victims about to testify, including child-care and transportation services. The trauma of testifying may exceed that of the rape itself, and some victims will need maximum support to undergo the long ordeal of a trial and re-trial.[40] Philadelphia provides free legal advice to all crime victims who want to sue for damages, or free legal advice regarding insurance benefits they are entitled to. Fresno has victim advocates who attempt to have the victim influence what sentence her rapist will receive. Another program brings victim and offender into confrontation to arbitrate the best solution in the case, and finally a program that hires a lawyer to represent the victim in all court proceedings.

The specific application of these programs to campus rape victims has not been worked out, but foretells of some innovations in the future.

Law Enforcement

The police response to the new emphasis on rape prevention has been outstanding. In-service training, crisis intervention, sensitive interrogation, more use of female officers and more effective evidence-gathering techniques characterize many police departments around the country.[41] The ignorance and insensibility

of police regarding rape victim problems may be a thing of the past, although individual exceptions may still occur.

The use of female police officers to process rape complaints has already reduced the number of fabricated rape complaints.[42]

Rape Law Reform

Some 15 states have already reformed their old rape laws, in ways that ease the potential trauma in court proceedings and perhaps will make for more actual convictions of rapists.[43] In addition, many states are in the process of rape law reform. Under the old law the actual conviction rate for the nation was low compared to some other crimes. Under the reformed rape law:

1) The victim need not prove resistence;
2) Victim's previous sexual conduct is inadmissible in most cases;
3) Medical costs of rape are to be paid by the taxpayer; and
4) A second conviction of rape results in mandantory sentencing to a coorectional institution.[44]

The state of Minnesota enacted a law in 1975 requiring either a three-year sentence in the penitentiary or psycho-social treatment for anti-social sexual behavior.[45] The state of Illinois passed a law in 1975 prohibiting all insurance companies from excluding coverage to rape victims, and that all public hospitals must treat rape victims.[46]

Nevada enacted a law in 1975 that will allow each of its counties to provide medical and psycho-social treatment for rape victims and their spouses, paid for by taxes up to $1,000.00.[47] Minnesota has authorized a state-wide program of services to rape victims at the community level which includes payment for psycho-social treatment of victims whether they choose to prosecute or not.[48] These are heartening changes and important victories, but they should not lull us into a false sense of security.

Litigation to Alter the Environment

The use of courts, litigation, class action suits and the test case are now respected and reasonably effective instruments of social change, social policy formation and implementation. While we as individuals are all liable for taking reasonable precautions against possible rape, the total burden of prevention does not lie with the potential victim or the actual victim. To what extent is the physical environment of the university a contribution to rape victimization? What does the university owe each student it enrolls in terms of sexual safety? Several recent court decisions suggest that the role in institutions, employers, landlords and transportation systems are changing and they may be held liable for a higher degree of protection than previously, particularly in cases of violent rape by a stranger. Damage suits have been won by rape victims against the following institutions:

1) the University [49];
2) the transportation system [50];
3) the motel [51];
4) the private apartment house [52];
5) the public housing project [53];
6) elevators in motels [54];
7) in public schools [55];
8) the hospital [56]; and
9) the female prison.[57]

We are witnessing the slow march through various social institutions and agencies, one by one, and courts holding each one responsible for a reasonable degree of freedom from rape of its inhabitants or users. The law does not expect a citizen to structure his normal activities around avoidence of crime.[58] The

use of courts as social reform instruments and the use of litigation holds great promise for resolving some aspects of the rape problem and we should all learn to use litigation, effectively and its limitations.[59]

Protecting the University Setting

Rape has been with us a long time. It is not a temporary aberration of a few deviant men, but a culturally entrenched and supported style for viewing women and sex. We have the moral and legal imperitive to act. Women have pleaded and the courts have ordered us, in effect, to make the campus more secure against violent rape. Violent rape by a stranger occurs when the female is walking alone or is alone in a room, when it is dark, when she is in an open area, or when she attends a night class in a predominantly empty school building. What can be suggested for this type of rape?

1) The formation of paid student patrols, marshals or escort services, with the use of identifying armbands and radios, with escorts screened;

2) Screening of unusual people entering student dorms;

3) Providing a efficient campus transportation system and use of campus police cars at high risk times and places for female students;

4) The use of a hitchhiking registration system requiring identification of persons and automobiles before they can advertise on campus for rides or riders;

5) The provision of a signal system or telephone, strategically positioned on various parts of campus that require lifting the receiver or pressing a button to signal trouble spot on campus grid, with emphasis on their use by students;

6) Adequate lighting on all parking lots, parking garages, building entrances (inside and out), walkways, bus stops, etc.

7) Improved secure door locks on all campus buildings [60];

8) The requirement of Identification Cards by students, faculty and service personnel, with photos attached;

9) The return to foot patrols in high risk areas at high risk times;

10) Crime awareness training for all students;

11) Community relations training that emphasizes that campus security is everyone's responsibility, up to a reasonable degree;

12) Any new university construction should be designed and built to reduce victimization opportunities [61]; and

13) More effective negotiating between courts and campus over reasonable safety requirements, with the university providing the guidelines. [62]

You are at the center of a turning point in human history. Can we hold together for another 100 years in freedom and social order? Will the war between the sexes continue in our tri-centinnial? Will we continue further down the road to chaos with innocent women terrified hostages to rapists, "flashers", muggers, "goosers", "heavy breathers", exhibitionists or "peeping toms", or work out of the present dilemma? Seldom does the course of events present an opportunity to grasp a swing in public attitudes as it rises and to help sweep it to a new crest. You have that challenge and I hope you can make some progress in this conference in pointing the way toward fulfilling it.

FOOTNOTES

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[47]Nevada A. B. 664.4. Enacted May 21, 1975.

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[50]Female rape victim wins suit ($30,000 damages) against Amtrac system after rape in train restroom. Hamback v. Seaboard Coastline Railroad, 396 F. Supp. 80 (1974).

[51]Female rape victim wins suit (2.5 million dollars damages) against Howard Johnson's Motel after rape in unsafe motel room. UPI Release, 21 September 1976, and Time, 6 September 1976.

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[57]Threat of lesbian gang rape ruled legal grounds for prison escape of potential rape victims. People v. Loverscamp, 43 Cal. App. 3d 823, 118 Cal. Rptr. 110 (1974).

[58]For an example of its use, see: A. Abeson, Legal Change Through Litigation, Washington, D.C., 1974. Rape victims must "come out". Rape victims suing for symbolic victory may have corrective value. National Observer, 2 February 1976, p. 7.

[59]As Solzhenitsyn put it, "If one is forever cautious, can one remain a human being?", The First Circle, 1968.

[60]A. Grumbach, "Upgrading Lock Security", Security World, 12, No. 8 (1975), p. 32.

[61]O. Newman, Defensable Space, (New York: MacMillan Co, 1972); C. Jeffery, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing Co, 1971).

[62]R. O'Neil, "Court and Campus: Striking a New Balance", Journal of College and University Law, 1 (1974), pp. 199-205; M. Neill, "The Courts Invade the Campus", The College Counsel, 5, No. 1 (1970), pp. 1-19.